KING WILLIAM AND QUEEN MARY Conquerors:

OR, A

DISCOURSE

Endeavouring to prove that Their MAJESTIES have on Their Side, againſt the Late King, the Principal Reaſons that make CONQUEST a Good TITLE. Shewing alſo how this is conſiſtent with that Declaration of Parliament, King *James* Abdicated the Government, &c.

Written with an eſpecial Regard to ſuch as have hitherto refuſed the Oath, and yet incline to allow of the Title of Conqueſt, when Conſequent to a Juſt WAR.

Licenſed *January* 11. 1693. *Edmund Bohun.*

London, Printed for *Richard Baldwin*, near the *Oxford Arms* in *Warwick-Lane*, and at the *Black Lyon* between the Two *Temple Gates* in *Fleet-Street*. 1693

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Charles Blount (1654-1693)
deist and whig, wrote
"King William and Queen
Mary Conquerors" anonymously
as a trap to catch Bohun
(the "non resisting Williamite")
the licenser; the result being
that the pamphlet was ordered
by the House to be burnt by
the common hangman, Bohun
was imprisoned and dismissed
his office, which was shortly
afterwards abolished.

THE PREFACE.

THE very hard meaſure that King Charles the Firſt met with, hath raiſed in the Minds of all good Men a juſt Abhorrence both of the Perſons and Principles that cauſed his Sufferings. And, as it commonly falls out, we have been apt to run into extreams on the other Hand. We are not content to diſown with Indignation the Barbarities that he endured, but are apt to think that a Crowned Head can never ake, but the Subject is in ſome fault, let the Occaſion be what it will.

The Church of England is very Loyal to all Kings by Principle; but ſhe was ſo to him likewiſe by the ſuperadded Ties of Friendſhip. And the ſingular Affection all her Members bore to that bleſſed Prince, hath made them very favourable to the Sovereign's Cauſe, however different from his; and of this we have now a plain inſtance in the Adherence of ſo many of her Members to K. James; in favour of whoſe Intereſt they are very partial, even againſt their own. K. Charles the Firſt was a Friend to our Church and our Liberties, and was ready upon Complaint to have redreſſed all our Grievances, and to have confirmed our Rights, before there appeared any armed

Force to have compelled him. But K. James the Second was the avowed Enemy of our Church; and in order to her Ruin, as well as out of a Desire of Arbitrary Power, had many ways struck at the very Root of all our Civil Rights. Nor did he ever shew the least Inclination to redress what had been done amiss (it was so far from it, that he threatned and imprisoned the Reverend Prelates, for but petitioning to be excus'd from giving their helping Hand to the Destruction of the Church, Themselves, and the Laws) until meer Necessity forced him to it; and even then he gave us only Words, some Superficial Promises of a Parliament to be held, when we should have assisted him to drive our Champion out of the Nation, ruin'd our Friends, and left our selves wholly at his Disposal, i. e. at the Mercy of the Jesuits.

And yet I am apt to think, that one Reason that hath made some Men so very angry at such as were in Arms in favour of the Prince of Orange at his first Land, was the black Idea of all Resistance against Sovereign Power, formed in their Minds by that Rebellion against King Charles the First. And I verily believe, had not the Crown, as well as his Life, been most unjustly ravished from him, few would have blamed the Estates for setting it upon the Head of his Grand-children, after his Son had thrown it away. However I mean not at this time at all to meddle with the Case of Subjects

jects reſiſting their Sovereign, much leſs to determine either way about it.

What I now intend, is to aſſert the Right of King William *and Queen* Mary *to the Crown of* England, *and its Dependencies; and conſequently to the Allegiance of the Subject: And I doubt not but to do it upon Principles not in the leaſt Antimonarchical, or ſuſpected to be ſo; without either aſſerting the Popiſh depoſing Doctrine; or that the People of* England *are the Sovereigns Maſters, and may call him to an Account, and either depoſe, or other ways puniſh him for his Miſgovernments; or even affirming that a King of* England *may be reſiſted; there are other Principles not in the leaſt ſcandalous, that do intitle their Majeſties to the Crown, and to the Allegiance of the Subject.*

But ſome will be ready to ask, why I write on this Argument at this time of Day, after the Matter hath been ſo canvaſſed, and ſo many learned Men having already written upon it, may be ſuppoſed to have aid all of Moment, that is to be ſaid upon it. But my Anſwer is, That, notwithſtanding all that hath been written, a great many do yet remain unſatisfied. And it grieves me to think that their Majeſties, who have run ſuch mighty Hazards, and done ſo much for us, ſhould ſtill have ſo many ſecret Enemies in the Nation; or (if that be too hard a Character for ſome that have refuſed the Oath) ſo many that are not yet ſuch Hearty Friends as

they

they ought to be. That Proteſtants are ſo backward at making uſe of the faireſt Opportunity of ſecuring themſelves, and fencing againſt Popery, that they have had theſe many Years, which the Papiſts have given them by an over-active Zeal for their Deſtruction, while Papiſts do readily embrace, and make uſe of all Advantages againſt them, tho never ſo foul: That ſome, who are ſeemingly zealous Sons of the Church of England *ſhould take ſuch Meaſures as tend to her Deſtruction: That ſuch as have moſt bitterly declaimed againſt Separation from our Aſſemblies, as a great Sin, ſhould themſelves hold ſeparate Meetings upon a meer State-point, and, as it ſeems to me, be in the wrong Opinion too: That any who mean honeſtly, ſhould be doing the* French *King's, and the Papiſts Buſineſs, at a time when the Proteſtant Cauſe, and the Fate of* Europe *lie at Stake. And laſtly, that any Conſcientious and Learned Men ſhould loſe Preferments, and that the Church ſhould be deprived of the benefit of their Labours. Theſe are the Reaſons that have at length overcome my great Averſion to writing.*

The Argument I make uſe of, hath indeed been lightly touched upon by ſome others; and it could not well fall out otherwiſe within the compaſs of ſo much time as this Diſpute hath been on Foot in. But let not this Acknowledgment at the Entrance at all prejudice any Man againſt reading what I have written, upon a Belief that I offer

fer nothing new, nothing but what he hath already met with, and can anſwer for. For any thing I know, my manner of proſecuting it is different from what hath yet been publiſhed; whether it be to better purpoſe or no, the Reader is to judge. But although it ſhould not be ſo, yet may it be of ſome uſe, ſince oftentimes the ſame Arguments that have been rejected do prevail, when urged in a different way, although with a great deal leſs Skill.

But whether I have written better or worſe upon this Subject than other Men, is not at all the Queſtion; But whether or no I have made good my Undertaking. I confeſs, when I conſider how ſubject all Men are to miſtake, and what Cauſe my after-thoughts have many times found of altering my Judgment, even where at the firſt I have had ſome meaſure of Aſſurance, I diſtruſt my Performance. But when I abſtract from my own Management, ſet aſide the Sence I have of my own Weakneſs, and conſider the force of the Arguments themſelves, I cannot but think them convincing; and if I did not think ſo, I would never have written.

However I ſhall leave all to the Reader's Cenſure, and to the Conſideration of ſuch as have hitherto refuſed the Oath of Allegiance, when I have deſired of them theſe few Things. 1. *That they would lay aſide all Prejudices and read with Minds prepared to receive ſatisfaction.* 2. *That they would not paſs a Judgment againſt what I*

offer

offer, before they fully understand me, and comprehend the force of my Reasoning. 3. *That they would consider over and over the Force of each Argument, where several are offered, and of each Answer to such Objections as are made; and, if one or more shall prove unsatisfactory, that it may not hinder them from weighing impartially the rest. Lastly, that they would take in good part my charitable meaning. And if any Man is pleased to write against what I have said, I desire he will write like a Person that contends for Truth, rather than Victory: That he will neither trouble the Press nor me, with any thing that I have already answered, either explicitely or implicitely, or that he himself can answer: That he will avoid all undue Reflections, and all bitter provoking Sarcasms; remembring that he and I are both Christians, however we differ about the Matter in dispute.*

KING

KING WILLIAM AND QUEEN MARY CONQUERORS.

SECT. I.

Their Majeſties King William *and Queen* Mary *had a juſt Ground of War with King* James.

THE Queſtion is, Whether or no the Subject do owe Allegiance, may lawfully, and ought, when required, to ſwear Allegiance to K. *William* and Q. *Mary* in theſe Words:

I, A. B. do ſincerely Promiſe and Swear, That I will be Faithful, and bear True Allegiance to Their Majeſties King William and Queen Mary. So help me God.

I have undertaken to make good the Affirmative; and, before I proceed to Argument, it is neceſſary, in order to avoid Confuſion hereafter, that I premiſe Two Things.

1. What I mean by being Faithful, and bearing true Allegiance. And here I ſhall grant the *Non Jurors* all they can deſire, *viz.* That theſe Words ought to be underſtood in a Senſe, that a ſcrupulous Mind would laſt ſwear in. That the Oath when taken, doth not only oblige a Man to be a true Priſoner, to pay Taxes, and not to diſturb the Government, but to bear all the Allegiance to their Preſent Majeſties, that was ever owing to any King of *England* whatever, although his Title was moſt indiſputable; ſo as if the late K. *James* himſelf ſhould land in *England*, and lay with an Army on the left Hand, and K. *William* and Q. *Mary* with an Army on right, yet ſo long as K. *William* and Q *Mary* were poſſeſſed of the Crown, and the *Regalia*, the Subjects were bound in Conſcience to look upon J. as an Invader, and every Man in his Place and Calling were to be aiding and aſſiſting to K. *William* and Q. *Mary*: the Prieſthood with their Prayers; the Militia with their Arms; and the People with their Purſes, *&c*, In this Senſe I am content to underſtand the Oath; and I think it very probable, that this is the Senſe of the Impoſers; becauſe they intended it as a means to ſecure the Crown to thoſe on whoſe Heads they had plac'd it; and leſs than this will not do it. The

2*d* Thing to be premiſed is, That I make no difficulty at all about any Title that Q. *Mary* may by ſome be ſuppoſed to have, antecedent to that of K. *William*: Becauſe ſhe having ſubmitted her Right, and being very well ſatisfied with the Share allotted her by the Convention, no Man elſe hath any thing to do, to move any Controverſie about it. Wherefore, when I ſay Allegiance is due to K. *William* and Q. *Mary*, I mean it in the Senſe that the Oath it ſelf implies it to be due to each of them; which, for ought any Man knows,

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is the very Senſe that each of them do beſt like of. And, theſe things being premiſed, I now proceed.

There are three Topicks, from whence we may argue for the Oath, and as it ſeems to me, from each of them very ſolidly. 1. We may affirm, That their preſent Majeſties had a juſt Quarrel againſt the late King, and conquered him, and that Conqueſt is in ſuch a Caſe a good Title. 2. That the late King Abdicated the Crown, and left the Throne vacant: And that (although the former Title were not good,) yet the Convention having placed them there, and the Body of the Nation ſubmitted to them, they have thereupon a good Title. And, 3. That their Majeſties are poſſeſſed of the Crown, and that Poſſeſſion is, in their Caſe, a good Title, although the other two ſhould fail.

The two laſt I ſhall wave, becauſe they have been already very largely proſecuted by others, and, as it ſeems to me, to good purpoſe, however they have not hapned to give ſatisfaction to ſome Men. The firſt I ſhall endeavour to manage, becauſe however it may have been touch'd upon by ſome others, yet hath it not been ſo fully laid open and urged by any that I know of, as the other Two. If in this I am miſtaken, I muſt plead for my excuſe, the Circumſtances I am in, eſpecially my diſtance from Buſineſs and ſuch Books as have been lately written, which is to me unavoidable. But the chief Reaſon that hath at this time determined my Choice to this Argument is, Becauſe I find that ſeveral, who are not yet ſatisfied with any thing that hath been hitherto offered, do declare, That if it could be made appear that their preſent Majeſties have on their ſide all the Right of Conqueſt, they would entirely ſubmit to the Government, and take the Oath.

They are to be underſtood of a Conqueſt conſequent to a juſt Quarrel; and therefore it is, that they ſo importunately demand our proving, either the League with *France*, or that the pretended Prince of *Wales* is not Genuine. They ſeem to own that either of theſe would have been on the then Prince of *Orange*'s part a juſt Ground of War, and that thereupon he might lawfully have made uſe of his Succeſs. And if this be true, then muſt the Concluſion be the ſame, by whatever Argument we prove the Premiſes.

Wherefore for theſe Mens Satisfaction, as well as for the vindicating of their Majeſties, and their Loyal Subjects in point of Honour and Conſcience, I have undertaken to do it. And to put the matter, if it be poſſible, out of Controverſie, I ſhall endeavour to prove theſe three things:

1. That their Majeſties K. *William* and Q. *Mary* had a juſt Ground of War with K. *James*.

2. That they conquered him. And,

3. That Conqueſt is in this their Caſe a good Title.

1. Their Majeſties K. *William* and Q. *Mary* had a juſt Ground of War with K. *James*. This hath been endeavoured to be made good from K. *James*'s aſſaulting and labouring to ſubvert the Fundamentals of our Conſtitution, which the next Heirs are ſuppoſed under obligations of preſerving, or ſecuring. And by paſſing it over, I do not mean to intimate that it is not a good Argument: But I ſhall at this time argue from another Topick, which I believe more likely to give ſatisfaction to the Perſons I am dealing with; and that is K. *James*'s impoſing an Heir to the Crown upon their Majeſties, and theſe three Kingdoms: Or if not that, at the leaſt his carrying of Matters ſo darkly, as gave juſt Ground of Suſpici-

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on that he had done it; and his refuſing to give any reaſonable Satisfaction, or Proof of the contrary.

Now for the clearing of this I ſhall do theſe two things.

1. I ſhall lay before the Reader ſome of the many ſuſpicious Circumſtances that were previous to this pretended Birth. And, 2. The much more ſuſpicious Circumſtances of it. From both which laid together, it will be undeniable, that there were juſt Grounds of ſuſpecting foul Play: And then that the late King did not give any reaſonable Satisfaction under theſe Suſpicions, or ſufficient Proof of the contrary, will appear when I come to anſwer Objections.

As to the ſuſpicious Circumſtances both preceding, and accompanying the Queens pretended lying-in, I ſhall not critically inſiſt upon them; nor ſpend much time in enquiring after, and aggravating every Particular. For ſeeing ſuch as this Diſcourſe is intended for, are no Strangers to them, a Diſquiſition of that Nature is needleſs on this occaſion. And yet it is neceſſary that I mention ſome of them, in order to my Deſign of proving that there were juſt Grounds of ſuſpecting an Impoſture.

As to the ſuſpicious Circumſtances, previous to this pretended Birth, I deſire the Reader will call to mind, and impartially conſider theſe following.

1. That all the Children born of Q. *Mary* before it, dyed young; and that it was generally ſaid (and reported to be the Opinion of the Phyſicians too) That their Majeſties could not have a Child that ſhould live for any conſiderable time; and that for a very probable Reaſon, not to be mentioned out of Reſpect to a Crowned Head, once my Sove-

reign,

reign, and ſo nearly related to their Preſent Majeſties.

2. The conſecrated Linen ſent to the Queen juſt at the time before her ſuppoſed Conception, deſerves to be conſidered. The Story was generally ſaid to be true, and never that I know of contradicted. Now, however this might be intended as an Artifice to make ſome People believe that it availed their then Majeſties, by working powerfully upon their Fancies; or to make others more Superſtitious believe that it ſupplied them with Strength and Vigour, as the Reward of their Faith or Confidence in the bleſſed Virgin; yet wiſer Heads, who have no great Faith in the Miracles of that corrupt Church, and are no Strangers to her holy Cheats, will look upon it to be no other than a well-timed Trick, to make People expect an Heir to the Crown juſt at the time when they had reſolved one ſhould be born.

3. That her Majeſty had two different Reckonings. For altho this of it ſelf be no extraordinary matter; yet being attended with other ſuſpicious Circumſtances it looked as if the Intriguers were provided of ſeveral Women, who would fall in Travail at ſeveral times; that ſo if the Children born at her Majeſty's firſt reckoning ſhould prove Females, that could not inherit before the Princeſs of *Orange*, they might have other Chances for it at the other Reckoning.

4. Twas notoriouſly ſuſpected that the Queen was not with Child at all, during the time that ſhe pretended to be ſo; becauſe it was otherwiſe with her than it is uſually with Women in that Condition. And of theſe Suſpicions their then Majeſties, and the Court were not ignorant. For it was common Talk; and Lampoons flew about ridi-

diculing their Majeſties, and the pretended Royal *Embryo:* Inſomuch that Menaces were publiſhed and Rewards promiſed to any that would diſcover the Spreaders of ſuch Reports, and the Authors and Abettors of ſuch Libels.

5. What ſerves to add great Force to all theſe other Circumſtances, is the abſolute neceſſity of a Male-Child, that ſhould be believed to be Heir Apparent to the Crown. This was neceſſary 1. for the perfecting of that good Work, that K. *James*, who was in Years, might reaſonably be feared to want time to finiſh, I mean the ſetling of the Catholick Faith in theſe Kingdoms, eſpecially in *England*. This Nation hath long been averſe to that Religion, and jealous of its return; but never more than in the late Reign; and therefore this was not like to be the buſineſs of a day, no nor of a few Autumnal Years. 2. Becauſe all this was ſo well conſidered by thoſe who are guided chiefly by their Intereſt, in the choice of their Religion, who are commonly the far greater number, that they made no haſte to come over. For to what purpoſe was it for Knaves to turn Papiſts, when they might in Reaſon expect that was not like to be long a thriving Religion: But let them but ſee a Prince of *Wales*, and then well were he that could firſt declare himſelf. And when Mens intereſts had once prevailed with them to declare themſelves Papiſts, they would likewiſe engage them to do all they could to introduce Popery, or to maintain it when it was introduced. So that you ſee it was highly conducing to the good of the Catholick Cauſe, as they call it, that there ſhould be a Prince of *Wales*, either Real or Pretended. And when a Man conſiders the flaming Zeal that the late King had e-

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ver ſhewn for it, the mighty Hazards he had already run, and was ſtill running, and the Pains he was taking to introduce it; and what a glorious Piece of Self-denial it would be to diſinherit his own Children for the ſake of it, and for how many Sins it would compenſate; I ſay, when a Man conſiders this Temper in a Prince, not over apt to look a great way before him, managed to the height by ſubtle Prieſts; many of which were of the moſt cunning intriguing Order of Men in the whole World, he will conclude that greater matters than this in Queſtion would not be ſtuck at when conducing to this glorious end. And when he joyns hereunto the Conſideration of the concurring ſuſpicious Circumſtances already mentioned, and ſeveral others that may probably come into his Mind, he will be very apt to fear a Trick.

But it will be ſaid, here are only Grounds for violent Preſumptions, but none for concluding. It might be a real Prince ſtill, and conſequently here was no juſt cauſe for the Prince of *Orange* to draw his Sword, and drive his Royal Father out of his Kingdoms: This is more than ought to be granted from bare Circumſtances, however ſuſpicious they were.

I grant it is ſo, and it is more than I ask. All I ask is what no reaſonable Man can deny me, *viz.* That under theſe Grounds of Suſpicion, it had been both a point of Wiſdom and Juſtice, to have given both the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, and the Nation, all the Satisfaction that the matter was capable of at the time of the Queen's Labour. Suppoſing the Queen to have brought forth, it might then eaſily have been proved beyond all Contradiction; and if it was not proved, it is very

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ſuſpicious that it could not be proved. I never heard any Man doubt, but that it had been a Point of Wiſdom, to have proved it, if they could; and nothing need be ſaid to ſatisfie an unbiaſſed Mind, that it had been a Point of Juſtice too. Is it not a Common thing, in the caſe of an Heir to a Crown being born, to give the Preſumptive Heirs all the ſatisfaction imaginable? And under theſe very ſuſpicious Circumſtances, Previous to this ſuppoſed Birth, ought it not, if ever, to have been done? What great Matter had it been, if an Ocular Demonſtration had been given, or at the leaſt offered to the Princeſs of *D.* or to ſome other grave Ladies related to her by the Mothers ſide? Where had been the Harm or Indecency of this? Nay, was it not highly neceſſary that it ſhould have been done? Would it not have quite confuted all the Pretences of malicious Hereticks, and have rendred the Birth of the Prince indiſputable? And if they did not do it, was it not very Suſpicious, that the Reaſon was, becauſe they could not? For what other Reaſon can be given? Shall we ſay it was an Overſight? What, the ſubtle Jeſuits overſeen in a Matter of this Conſequence! Suppoſe Father *Petré* wanted what many Politicians have, was there never a Wiſe Man amongſt them? Were not thoſe about Their Majeſties, Men choſen out for the carrying on of that great Work? And had they not time enough before the Queen's Lying-in, to conſider the Suſpicions that were raiſed, the Reports that went about, and to Fence againſt them? Did it not ſtand them in hand to put the King in mind of laying hold of an Opportunity, which if loſt, could never be retrieved? Of giving that

ſatisfaction that might for ever confute theſe Stories, and ſecure his Son's Title, and this mighty Advantage to the Catholick Cauſe; Truly, conſidering the Neceſſity of doing the thing, and that thoſe about their Majeſties were no Fools, it ſeems to me next to impoſſible, that it ſhould have been an Overſight.

But ſuppoſe we ſhould grant that it might, or might not be an Overſight. For that is all that the Friends of the pretended Prince of *W.* can deſire. They can never evince that it was an Overſight, nor ought they to expect we ſhould grant it. All they can reaſonably ask, is, That we grant it might be an Overſight. And if we ſhould grant them that, what will they gain by it? e'en nothing at all. For had their preſent Majeſties any Reaſon to acquieſce in an *It may be*, or a *Perhaps*? To give up their Claim to three Kingdoms to a meer Peradventure? Will it ever be poſſible at this rate, to ſecure a Preſumptive Heir againſt an Impoſtor? Ought the Prince and Princeſs of *O.* to ſit ſtill? to have let this Birth, juſtly ſuſpected by five parts in ſix of the whole Nation, go unqueſtioned? and conſequently to have lain under the Torment of believing while they ſhould live, and to have left it ſuſpected to Poſterity when they were dead, that they had weakly given up their Right to theſe Kingdoms? and the Proteſtant Intereſt to boot?

I ſay, was this Reaſon? Or rather was it not Reaſon, that they who were thus far, as is now ſuppoſed, Overſeen, ſhould reap the fruits of their own folly? and ſuffer for their Overſight? If it was not an Overſight, the Prince and Princeſs of *O.* were wronged, and he being a Soveraign Prince, and no Subject of *England*, had Reaſon to demand Satisfaction. If it was onely an Overſight, yet ſince it was never ſufficiently

ciently proved to have been ſo, by giving up the Prince of *Wales* they might have ſuffered loſs, but were not wronged; becauſe the Fault was their own. For certainly in a doubtful Caſe we ſhould conclude againſt thoſe that are in all the Fault, and in Favour of them that are in no Fault at all. Since it cannot be proved either way, theirs ought to be the loſs, who were guilty of perplexing Matters at this rate.

Or however Their preſent Majeſties had Reaſon to demand that the Matter ſhould be reviewed, and left to the determination of a Parliament, the moſt competent Judge that could be pitched upon. This cannot be denied. And this is all that I ask at preſent; becauſe it is all that our preſent Soveraign asked in his Declaration, at his firſt coming into *England.*

Some may think (what is not indeed altogether improbable, ſuppoſing it to be a genuine Prince) that Matters were thus darkly carried on purpoſe to have provoked the Nation, or rather ſome of the forwardeſt, to a Rebellion; that ſo they might have had an Occaſion againſt us, to fall upon us, and take us for Bondmen.

The Principles of the Church of *England* were known to be ſo Loyal to all Kings in the General, and ſhe had done ſo much for King *James* in Particular; in bringing him to the Throne, and in keeping the Crown on his Head; She had ſo lately given an undeniable Token of her Fidelity to him, by what ſhe had done in oppoſition to the Duke of *Monmouth*, that the Popiſh party could not for ſhame fall foul upon her, without ſome Pretence or other: but if they could but provoke her, or ſome part of her Members to a Riſing, then ſhe would have cancelled all the Obligations that her former Loyalty had

laid upon the Crown; And then the Cry would have been; Her Members are not more Loyal than thoſe of other Sects or Religions, when ſhe is diſcontented, or doth but fear that her Intereſt lies at ſtake. And then there would have been juſt cauſe for the King to have adhered to the Loyal Roman Catholicks, who had never failed him; and to have ſet them uppermoſt.

Or ſuppoſing they had a Mind to bring in Arbitrary Power, and make it an Handmaid to Popery, then would any Stirs, that they were reſolved to call a Rebellion, render it eaſy and haſten it. And certainly as to Invade our Laws, our Liberties and our Religion ſo openly, was highly provoking: So to impoſe upon us a Prince of *Wales*, (or which is all one, to make us believe they had done it) and ſo to rob us of our hopes of Eaſe, when thoſe bleſſed Princes, our preſent Soveraigns, ſhould of right have ſucceeded the Crown, was the readieſt way to make us deſperate. And, did I believe that the Child was really born of the Queen, I ſhould think this ſo fair an Account of their carrying it as if it was not, that I ſhould never pitch upon any other. And methinks there is a Paſſage in the Lord *Churchil*'s Letter left for King *James*, when he went off from him at *Salisbury*, which implies, that he was either Privy to, or ſmelled out ſome ſuch Deſign; His words are, *Heaven knows with what Partiality my dutiful Opinion of your Majeſty hath hitherto repreſented thoſe unhappy Deſigns, which inconſiderate and ſelf-intereſted Men have framed againſt your Majeſty's true Intereſt, and the Proteſtant Religion.* But as I can no longer joyn with ſuch to give a Pretence by Conqueſt to bring them to Effect.

V. Hiſt. of the Deſertion, Pa. 81.

His

His Lordſhip beſt knows what he means by the Pretences by Conqueſt to bring thoſe unhappy Deſigns to Effect: But to me at preſent it ſeems that his words are capable of no other Interpretation, than that they were reſolved to provoke us to make ſome oppoſition; that they intended to call a Rebellion, the which being quelled, they might pretend us to be in the ſtate of a Conquered People, and ſo over rule our Laws, and make their own the Legal Religion; And what greater Provocation could be given, than to make us believe they had thus impoſed upon us, as to the Succeſſion?

And if this be the Caſe, as they that believe there was a Prince of *Wales* have great Reaſon to think it is, then *Righteous art thou, O Lord, and upright are thy Judgments: For the Prieſts and Jeſuits are ſunk down in the Pit that they made, in the Net which they had hid for us, is their own Foot taken.* We can never enough adore the Divine Goodneſs, and Juſtice, and Wiſdom, in turning the Miſchief that theſe Wretches intended againſt his Church, upon their own heads. For at the ſame time that they deſigned to render the Birth of the Child doubtful, that ſo they might provoke us to do what might miniſter to them an occaſion to Deſtroy or Enſlave us, they likewiſe rendered it ſuſpected to a Soveraign Prince, nearly concerned to maintain the Succeſſion, who had both the Wit and Courage to ſift out the Truth in this matter: And how well theſe Sons of Wiſdom carryed it, when he came to make inquiry, we have ſeen, and ſhall conſider by and by.

But however this be, the moſt probable Reaſon of their perplexing things at this rate, that any Man can think of, who believes it was a Genuine Prince; yet 'was not this to be owned for the Reaſon. And therefore we have not forgotten that ſome of their then Majeſties Friends bethought themſelves of another. They could not deny but that things were very ſtrangely carryed, and that they both might and ought to have dealt more above-board: But they would have had us believe that the Reaſon why they did not, was the late Queen's mighty Spirit. She took it ſo very ill to be Suſpected, that ſhe ſcorned to give any Satisfaction. But what, had not the King more Temper? Had not their Ghoſtly Fathers more? Or could not they, who had inſpirited their Majeſties to run ſuch mighty Riſques for the Catholick Cauſe, prevail with them, in the ſpace of Forty Weeks, to give Law to their Paſſion, when it was ſo neceſſary to the great Deſign, and when the not doing of it was like to ruine all? Or if they ſcorned to give Satisfaction to the Subject, was it below them to give Satisfaction to a Soveraign Prince, whoſe Conſort was the Preſumptive Heir of the *Crown*?

This Reaſon muſt, I think, be unſatisfactory to every indifferent Judgment; and I am ſure, notwithſtanding this Allegation, the then Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, had all the Reaſon in the World to inquire into this doubtful Birth. For notwithſtanding all that can be alledged, ſince there were, during the time of the Queens pretended Bigneſs, ſuch general and confident Expectations of foul Play, ſome Men of Honour and Prudence of the Proteſtant Party, Friends to the Succeſſion

of

of their preſent Majeſties ſhould have been admitted into the Room, and placed ſo near the Queen, as that they might have been able to have given poſitive home Evidence on her Majeſty's ſide: And it was but reaſon that the Princeſs of *Denmark*: and a ſufficient number of Ladies that were her Friends, ſhould have been convinced by a ſenſible Demonſtration. But now inſtead hereof, how quite contrary were all things carried? And this brings me in the

Second Place, To the very ſuſpicious Circumſtances that attended this doubtful Birth: They are not yet forgotten, and therefore I need only mention ſome of them, in order that this Diſcourſe may not be imperfect. The Queen ſhifted her Lodgings to and fro at the expected time of Travail, gave out, That ſhe would lye-in, ſometimes at *White-Hall*, and ſometimes at St. *James's*, was delivered, if at all, in Bed, in ſo ſhort a Space, that there was not time to find out a Trick, ſuppoſing there had been any, nor to make any Remarks how Matters were: Few Witneſſes called, but ſuch as were either Papiſts, or ſo obnoxious to the Laws, by their being Parties to the illegal Proceedings, that it ſtood them in Hand as much to have a Prince of *Wales*, as if they had been Papiſts: And the diſintereſted Proteſtants that were called, ſo placed, that they could only give Evidence, That they heard the Queen complain, and that there was a Child: But for ſpeaking home to the Matter, they were no more able to do it, than as if they had been at ſome Miles diſtance.

I grant that ſome of theſe Circumſtances might not be of their deſigning or ordering, and that, had they hapned alone, they would have been of

no

no moment to create a Suſpicion: But yet being joyned with the others, that were undeniably of their Ordering, and that might have been ordered other ways, they are of very great weight. And I am perſwaded, when a Man, who is altogether diſintereſted, conſiders all Circumſtances laid together, he will conclude, that, ſuppoſing there were foul Play, Things muſt needs have been carried juſt as they were: And they that ſuppoſe there was not, can give no Reaſon why they were ſo carried, but ſuch as are altogether unſatisfactory; and that, notwithſtanding all that can be alledged: the Preſumptive Heirs to the Crown had reaſon to expect the Matter ſhould be looked into.

But it will be ſaid, No ſooner did the Prince and Princeſs diſcover their Jealouſie, but the late King gave them all the Satisfaction that they could reaſonably deſire; ſuch as might and ought to have contented them. For the King did not hear of the Prince's Preparation againſt him before the 9th or 10th of *September* 1688; and on the 22d of *October*, he ordered the Council to be aſſembled, and ſuch of the Peers of this Kingdom both Spiritual and Temporal as were in Town, together with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, and the Judges, and ſeveral of his Majeſty's Council learned in the Law. And Queen Dowager and the Lords and Ladies, and others that were preſent at the Queens Labour, did appear, and declare, all of them, except Queen Dowager, upon Oath what they knew of the Birth of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*: Of all which a particular Relation was publiſhed by the King's Order: and this ought to have ſatisfied the Prince and Princeſs.

Hiſt. of the Deſertion, Pag. 7.

Pag. 24.

But

But I anſwer, This was not reaſonable Satisfaction: for 1. It was not, as it ought to have been, the Satisfaction that the Prince deſired. 2. Nor was it ſufficient in it ſelf.

1. It was not, as it ought to have been, the Satisfaction that the Prince deſired. He had juſt cauſe to ſuſpect a Trick, as hath been proved; and therefore it cannot be denied, but that he ought to have had the Privilege of chuſing how he would have the Truth found out, provided the Method he pitched upon were poſſible, and reaſonable. Now it was both: for he offered to refer the Matter in diſpute to a Free Parliament. The King might have called a Parliament, had he pleaſed, and have made it Free; ſo that it was poſſible. And who might more reaſonably judg of the Matter than a Parliament? The King and Prince were too much Parties, to be either of them Judges. And who then ſo fit as the Nation's Repreſentatives, to decide a Controverſy about the Succeſſion? Had not they formerly been the uſual Umpires in parallel Caſes? And, if they might not be ſo in this, I know no other but the Sword. For, *Prince of Orange's Declaration.*

2. The Satisfaction that the King gave by examining Witneſſes, was not ſufficient in it ſelf. 1. Becauſe few were called to the Queen's Labour, but ſuch as were either Papiſts, or obnoxious to the Laws, or abſolute Creatures of the Court: And the few diſintereſted Proteſtants that were there, were not able to ſpeak home to the Matter in queſtion. 2. The Witneſſes were under too great an Awe to have their Evidence accounted free: they were all the King's Subjects; and his Majeſty had all along before, and did at that inſtant ſhew himſelf too paſſionately concerned to have it believed a Genuine Prince. Had the King himſelf deſired Satisfaction, or but ſtood Neuter, they might have been ſuppoſed to ſpeak freely. But it was quite otherwiſe: for, beſides

what he had done before to diſcourage all ſuch as were diſſatisfied, there is one material Circumſtance previous to the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes, which hath not as yet been taken notice of in Print that I know of, that deſerves to have a particular Remark ſet upon it; and it is this: Before the Examination of any one Witneſs, his Majeſty was pleaſed to expreſs himſelf to this purpoſe, (I would have ſet down his Words, but that I could not procure the Depoſitions; however, I believe, I ſhall not vary from the Senſe in any thing material to my preſent Deſign:) 'I was always with the Queen du-'ring her Bigneſs; I conſtantly lay with her; I could not 'poſſibly be impoſed upon; I knew her to be with Child: 'And therefore, if there were any foul Play, I muſt needs 'be a Party to it. And having ſaid this, he bids the Witneſſes ſpeak their Knowledg.

Reaſons for withdrawing himſelf from Rochester.

Which was as much as to ſay, Is there ever a Perſon here that dare accuſe me of the greateſt Folly and Injuſtice in the World? Come, tell me, Am I your Soveraign guilty of this *unnatural Villany*? Or have I ſo little common Senſe, as to be impoſed on in a thing of this Nature? I uſe theſe Expreſſions, becauſe his Majeſty afterwards uſed them. I confeſs I lay great Streſs upon this, and think this one Circumſtance enough, in all Reaſon, to ſet aſide all that was then ſworn, and make it go for nothing.

Indeed had the Prince been there as well as the King, with a number of Guards equal to his Majeſty's, and the two Armies at equal diſtance, as the Prince required in his Anſwer to the Lords ſent by the King to adjuſt Preliminaries, in order to the holding of a Parliament; and conſequently able to have protected any that ſhould have given Evidence on his ſide, as well as the King was to protect thoſe that gave Evidence for the Party he was pleaſed to eſpouſe, all this had been no great mat-

ter:

ter: But that the King ſhould expreſs himſelf in this Senſe, and with ſo much Warmth, when he alone was preſent, able to cruſh any Man that ſhould offend him, and the Prince with his Army on the other ſide the Sea, is, I think, ſuch a mighty Prejudice againſt all was thereafter ſworn, at that time, that no wiſe Man will much regard it; but will conclude, that the Prince had ſtill reaſon to adhere to his firſt Demand of having it left to a Free Parliament.

He did ſo: Firſt, he ſignified his Diſſatisfaction in theſe Words; 'There are great and violent Preſumptions, inducing us to believe, that thoſe Evil Counſellors, in order to the carrying on of their ill Deſigns, and to the gaining to themſelves more time for the effecting of them, for the encouraging of their Complices, and for the diſcouraging of all good Subjects, have publiſhed that the Queen hath brought forth a Son; though there have appeared both during the Queen's pretended Bigneſs, and in the manner in which the Birth was managed, ſo many juſt and viſible Grounds of Suſpicion, that not only we our ſelves, but all the good Subjects of thoſe Kingdoms, do vehemently ſuſpect that the pretended Prince of *Wales* was not born by the Queen. And it is notoriouſly known to all the World, that many both doubted of the Queen's Bigneſs, and the Birth of the Child; and yet there was not any one thing done to ſatisfy them, or to put an end to their Doubts. *Prince's 1ſt Declaration*

Then he declares for a Free Parliament, and ſaith, To this Parliament he will alſo refer the Enquiry into the Birth of the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and of all things relating to it, and to the Right of Succeſſion.

But is K. *James* likewiſe willing to ſtand to their Determination? No, he is ſo far from it, that whereas, immediately after notice of the Prince's intended Expedition,

he endeavoured to wheedle the Nation with hopes of a Parliament, by his Proclamation of *September* the 20*th*, and did iſſue out Writs accordingly; Having received more certain Intelligence of the Prince's coming, he recalled the Writs by his Declaration of the 28*th* of *September*, and could never be induced to conſent to a Parliament until the Prince ſhould be driven out of the Nation. And how could a Parliament then have been Free? or with what Freedom could they then have enquired into the Birth of the Child? However, in this fatal Reſolution he perſiſted to the laſt. And what was this, but to decline the Deciſion of a Parliament, and to put it to the Sword? All his Proclamations are in purſuance of this Reſolution: And from it, not the ſeaſonable Advice of the Biſhops, nor the earneſt Petition of ſeveral Lords both Temporal and Spiritual, preſented to him by the two Archbiſhops, and the Biſhops of *Ely* and *Rocheſter*, nor the riſing of ſeveral Bodies up and down the Nation, who all declared for a Free Parliament, can divert him: But down he follows a puiſſant Army to *Salisbury*, meaning that way, and no other, to give the Prince Satisfaction.

Hiſt. of the Deſertion, p. 8.

Pag. 10.

Pag. 13.

Pag. 43.

And now I deſire the Reader to conſider, that from the time that the King declined the Deciſion of a Parliament, declared the Prince an Enemy, and marched down againſt him in Hoſtile manner, the Prince had a juſt ground of War againſt him. Certainly no Man can doubt this, who conſiders what hath been ſaid and proved of the King's having given the Prince juſt cauſe of Suſpicion that he had greatly injured him, of his denying him Satisfaction, of his declaring him an Enemy, and of his marching down againſt him as ſuch.

Object. But perhaps ſome will be ready to object, That the Prince begun the War by coming over into *England* with

with an armed Power; He might have ſtaid in *Holland*, or have come without an Army; and then he might have had Satisfaction.

To this I anſwer, 1. That the Prince utterly diſclaimed any Deſign of warring upon the King. He declared only for a Free Parliament, to the which he promiſed to refer all Matters in Diſpute, (and his Sincerity was ſo univerſally believed, that the whole Nation, except ſuch whoſe Crimes had made the contraty their Intereſt, beſought the King to yield to his Demand;) promiſing that, as ſoon as the State of the Nation would admit of it, he would ſend back all his Foreign Forces; and in the mean time, keep them under ſuch Strictneſs of Martial Diſcipline, that the People of the Country, through which they were to march, ſhould not ſuffer by their Means. 2. That there is not the leaſt ſhew of Reaſon, that, if either the Prince had ſtaid in *Holland*, or had come over unarmed, the King would have called a Parliament that ſhould have been Free; much leſs, that he would have ſuffered them to enquire into the Birth of the Child. He that would leave the Nation rather than yield to theſe things, would never have done it when he was under no ſuch Neceſſity. *Anſw.*

If it be ſaid, The Prince ſhould firſt have tried him: I anſwer; That had been to alarm him and the *French* King, and ſo to have made it utterly impoſſible to have gained Satisfaction. The State of *Europe* at that time is known to have been ſuch, as that Secreſy and Expedition were two Things, without which the Prince could never have carried his Points; and upon both theſe Accounts, it was neceſſary that he ſhould make his very firſt Demand of Satisfaction with his Sword in his Hand: And if it was neceſſary, then it was lawful. For, ſince it was through the King's Fault that the Matter

Matter was become doubtful, it was lawful for the Prince to do what was neceſſary to his gaining Satisfaction. So that, notwithſtanding theſe Objections, I conclude for the Reaſons mentioned, That K. *William* and Q. *Mary* had a juſt Ground of War againſt K. *James*: which was the firſt Thing I undertook to prove.

SECT. II.

Their Majeſties K. William *and* Q. Mary, *conquered* K. James.

THE ſecond Thing to be proved, is, That the Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, our preſent Soveraigns, conquered K. *James*. In order to the making of this clear, it will be requiſite to lay before the Reader Matter of Fact; that ſo it may appear they were actually in a State of War with the King, and what their Succeſs thereupon was. I ſhall ſtill make uſe of the *Hiſtory of the Deſertion*, as I have hitherto done, for the Proof of Matter of Fact: It ſeems to me to be written with great Judgment, and hath, I thankfully own, contributed more to my Satisfaction, as to the Lawfulneſs of paying Allegiance to Their Preſent Majeſties, than any one Tract, that I have met with, on the Subject. However, the Subſtance of what I quote from it is known to be true.

It hath already been obſerved, That K. *James* declined the Deciſion of a Parliament; That he declared the Prince an Enemy, and that at *Salisbury* he put himſelf at the Head of a puiſſant Army. Now with what Succeſs, remains to be conſidered.

November 20*th*, there happened a Skirmiſh at *Wincanton*, between a Detachment of 70 Horſe, and 50 Dragoons and Granadiers, commanded by *Sarsfield*; and about 30 of the Prince of *Orange*'s Men, commanded by one *Cambel*: where, ſaith my Author, notwithſtanding the great Inequality of the Numbers, the latter fought with that deſperate Bravery, that it ſtruck a Terror into the Minds of the Army. Pag. 76.

At *Salisbury* the King was deſerted by part of his Army, (as he had been, before his leaving *White-hall*, by the Lord *Cornbury*, and ſuch as would follow him,) particularly by the Duke of *Grafton*, and the Lord *Churchil*, and, either there or at *Andover*, by Prince *George* of *Denmark* himſelf: upon which, the King and his Army were ſo diſheartned, that upon a falſe Alarm made, either with Deſign or by Accident, on the 25*th* of *November* they left *Salisbury*, the Army retreating to *Reading*, and the King to *Andover*; and on the 28*th* in the Evening, he returned to *London*. Pag. 79. P. 81, 82.

The Army at *Reading*, upon another falſe Alarm, on the 8*th* of *December*, retired in great haſte to *Twiford-Bridg*; and endeavouring to regain their Poſt, a Party of the Prince's Men, who were ſent for by the Inhabitants of *Reading*, upon their threatning to plunder and fire the Town, attacked the *Iriſh* Dragoons, and ſlew fifty of them. Pag. 85.

The King being returned to *London*, and having now no longer any Confidence in that way of deciding the Diſpute that he himſelf had choſen, on the 28*th* of *November*, in a Privy-Council, ordered the Lord-Chancellor to iſſue out Writs for the Sitting of a Parliament on the 15*th* Day of *January* following. Pag. 92.

But the Reader muſt obſerve, that this was not done until he was forced to it; and therefore, the Prince was now no longer under any Obligation to the King,

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of ſtanding to the Deciſion of a Parliament. He might, had he pleaſed, without any Injuſtice with reſpect to him, have made uſe of his good Fortune, and purſued the Advantage he had gained; which muſt, in all likelihood, have ended in Victory; the Earl of *Feverſham*, Pag. 93. the King's General, not having with him, at that time, above four thouſand Men.

But yet ſuch was his Moderation, that upon the King's ſending the Lords *Hallifax*, *Nottingham* and *Godolphin*, to treat with him, and to adjuſt Preliminaries to the holding of a Parliament, He, with the Advice of the Lords and Gentlemen of his Party, accepted the Motion, and, as things then ſtood, returned a moſt reaſonable Anſwer. The which was ſent to the King P. 91, 92. before his firſt Attempt to withdraw himſelf out of the Nation; and yet he did not alter his Reſolution to do it: It was ſent to his Majeſty by an Expreſs, and yet he reſolved to leave the Town; and ordered all thoſe Writs for the Sitting of the Parliament, that were not ſent out, to be burnt; and a Caveat to be entred againſt the making uſe of thoſe that were.

And at the ſame time, he ſent Orders to the Earl of *Feverſham* to disband the Army, and diſmiſs the Soul- Pag. 92. diers, (which was accordingly done) telling him in his Letter, that things being come to that extremity, that he had been forced to ſend away the Queen and his Son, that they might not fall into the Enemies Hands, he himſelf was obliged to do the ſame thing. And preſently after, his Majeſty was taken by the Inhabitants of *Feverſham* in a ſmall Veſſel, endeavouring to go out of the Nation.

And after this it is manifeſt the Prince never conſidered him as King of *England*, but as his Priſoner, or as a Perſon conquered. It is true, the Lords invited him back to *London*, but it was without the Prince's Conſent,

ſent, and in all Likelihood without his Knowledg. For although he treated him with all imaginable Reſpect, as a Perſon ſo nearly related to himſelf and the Princeſs, and with a due Regard to Majeſty, with which he had been ſo lately veſted; yet ſtill it was but like a Perſon conquered. For underſtanding he was at *Rocheſter*, he ſent to him, to continue there, by Monſieur *Zuleſtein*; but he miſſing of him, he ſent another Order after him, to remove from *Whitehall*, whither he was gone, to *Ham*. The Meſſage was to be delivered by the Marqueſs of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Delamere*, after the Prince's Guards were in poſſeſſion of the Poſts about *Whitehall*, and a Note drawn up to that Purpoſe. Pag. 100, 101.

Likewiſe the Prince committed the Earl of *Feverſham* to the Caſtle of *Windſor*, who had been ſent by the King to invite him to St. *James*'s. And if he committed the Servant to Priſon, it is not hard to determine in what Condition he judged the Maſter to be. Princes do not uſe to impriſon each others Servants ſent on kind Meſſages, while their Maſters are free; that is, as King *James* in his Reaſons for withdrawing himſelf from *Rocheſter*, words it, againſt the Practice and Law of Nations. Ibid. Pag. 105.

But the Truth is, he conſidered him as a Prince conquered by him, and treated him accordingly, although with all imaginable Reſpect, and with great Tenderneſs.

This is the plain meaning of ſuch Actions: and in this Senſe King *James* underſtood them; and therefore he ſent to deſire leave of the Prince to return to *Rocheſter*, which was granted. And in this Senſe he interprets them in his Reaſons for withdrawing himſelf from *Rocheſter*: For having mentioned them, he adds theſe memorable Words, *I was born Free, and I deſire to* Pag. 104. Pag. 106.

continue ſo. Wherefore, in his own Opinion, his going privately from *Rocheſter* into *France*, was no other than an Eſcape out of Captivity, or rather out of a Conqueror's Hands, whoſe Priſoner he was.

I inſiſt the longer upon theſe things, for the ſake of ſuch as own Conqueſt upon a juſt Quarrel to be a good Title, (as indeed it is) but ſay the Prince did not make uſe of his Fortune, but declined it, by leaving the Matter to the Convention: Of which I ſhall ſay more hereafter, when I come to anſwer Objections.

In the mean time I will contract into a narrow Compaſs, what I have ſaid at large, that ſo the Reader may at once take a View of it. Here were violent Preſumptions of an unſufferable Injury done to the Prince, and a Refuſal of giving reaſonable Satisfaction to the laſt; a marching down with an Army to oppoſe him, when he came to examine the Truth. Two Battels fought, (how much Blood ſpilt it matters not) in both which the Prince had the better. The King fled before the Prince to *London*, from thence towards *Graveſend*, went on board a Veſſel, in order to leave the Nation, without deputing a Vice-Roy, is brought back again; but being uſed, as he thought, like a Priſoner, makes his Eſcape a ſecond time, and leaves the Nation.

And now, good Reader, do not deceive thy ſelf, nor ſuffer thy ſelf to be impoſed upon by the little Pretences of ſuch Men, whoſe Intereſt it is never to be ſatisfied: conſider well, and judg impartially; What was there wanting in the Caſe of King *James*, to make it fall ſhort of a Conqueſt? There can be no Objections againſt this (as it ſeems to me) of any great Moment; however I will not paſs by unanſwered any Scruple that I can foreſee, and much leſs any Objection that I know hath been made. In the

1*ſt* Place it hath been ſaid; The Prince, by his fair Pretences in his Declaration, ſtole away the Hearts of his Majeſty's Subjects and Souldiers, ſo that they forſook him; and therefore he may be ſaid rather to have been betray'd than conquer'd. *Object.*

To this I anſwer two things. 1*ſt*. That the Prince's Declaration was moſt reaſonable, and thought to be ſo by the moſt conſiderable, both for Learning and Quality, of thoſe that now refuſe the Oath, who therefore urged the King, over and over, to condeſcend, without Fighting, to his Demand of referring all Differences to a Free Parliament. And ſince his Majeſty's Refuſal, was a Refuſal to give Satisfaction about the Rights and Liberties of the Nation, which had been infringed; and about the Succeſſion to the Crown, which was ſuſpected to be in Danger of being altered: It is more than any Man can prove, that the Subject was bound to aſſiſt the King; eſpecially if we add, that if he had got the Victory, it muſt in all Probability have ended in the utter Subverſion of our Laws and legal Government; and in the Deſtruction of our Rights, both Civil and Religious. That Subjects may not reſiſt the King, although he indeavour their Deſtruction unjuſtly, hath been taught; and that is Loyalty enough in all Reaſon: But that they are bound to aſſiſt him to deſtroy the main Body of a Nation, is ſuch a Notion of Loyalty as will not down with wiſe Men. But,

2*dly*. Suppoſing the King had been unjuſtly betray'd by his Subjects and Souldiers, or deſerted by them, who ought to have ſtood by him in the Quarrel, what was that to the Prince, who was none of the King's Subject, but a Soveraign Prince? It behoved the King to have aſſured himſelf of the Loyalty and Courage of his own Souldiers and People: And if he did not, and

was therefore beaten, it was never the leſs a Conqueſt over him, becauſe his Men either would not, or durſt not fight. For when Princes take the Field, the Queſtion, as to Right of Conqueſt, is, which overcomes: not whether his Souldiers that is overcome, fought or not; nor whether his Subjects adhered firmly to him or not.

When *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter* came into *England*, and gathered an Army traiterouſly againſt his Soveraign, King *Richard* the Second, who was then in *Ireland*, the King ſent the Earl of *Salisbury* before him into *England*, to gather an Army againſt his Coming over: But ſtaying longer than the time by himſelf appointed, the Army would no longer be kept together. The King coming over, and finding that they were diſperſed, and hearing that all the Caſtles from the Borders of *Scotland* and *Briſtol* were delivered to the Duke; and that the greateſt part of the Nobility and Commons took part with him; and that his principal Counſellors had loſt their Heads, he fell ſo utterly to Deſpair, that calling his Army together, he licenſed every Man to be gone, and to ſhift for himſelf: After which he was made a Priſoner, and frightned into a Reſignation of his Crown, which was unjuſtly accepted of, and confirmed by a Parliament illegally called by the Duke in the King's Name. Here was never a Battel fought, nor a Stroak ſtruck; the King's Subjects and Souldiers forſook him, and went to *Henry*, who was indeed a Traitor, and conſequently an Uſurper; both which are far from being in the preſent Caſe. And yet *Henry* being placed in the Royal Seat, and poſſeſſed of the *Regalia*, thought it neceſſary to aſſure them, that he meant not to take Advantage againſt any Man's Eſtate, as coming in by Conqueſt; but that every one ſhould freely injoy his own, as in the times of lawful Suc-

Baker's *Life of* Rich. II.

His Life of Hen. IV. Pag. 1.

Succeſſion. Here are a great many ill Circumſtances that make all this unlawful in *H*'s Doings, which do not accompany the late Atchievements of our glorious Prince, which do, even as to the Queſtion of Conqueſt, leave the Advantage plainly on our Soveraign's ſide: and yet we ſee *Henry* thinks good to aſſure them that he will not make uſe of his Victory; we are to underſtand him, againſt any Man but the King. A plain Intimation, that (ſuppoſing his Quarrel to have been juſt, and juſtly managed) he thought he had the Right of Conqueſt on his Side; yea, and that he thought they were of the ſame Opinion, for whoſe ſakes he gave his Aſſurance.

A like Inſtance we have in two other Princes of the ſame Names, *Richard* the Third, and *Henry* the Seventh. The Duke of *Buckingham* King *R*'s Subject, and Biſhop *Morton* his Priſoner, plot together, that *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, Heir of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, ſhould marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, Heireſs of the Houſe of *York*, and alſo to depoſe King *R*. Many of the King's Subjects join in the ſame Conſpiracy. While *Henry* lay at *Lichfield* with his Forces, and K. *Richard* with his at *Nottingham*, part of King *Richard*'s Forces revolted to *Henry*; and in the King's March towards him, Sir *Walter Hungerford*, and ſome others, withdrew themſelves from King *R*'s Party: And Sir *John Savage*, Sir *Brian Stamford*, and Sir *Simon Digby*, with their ſeveral Forces, joined with the Earl. The Treachery was ſo plain, that it was written over the Gate of the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was faithful to King *R*. the Night before the Battel,

Jacky *of* Norfolk *be not too bold*;
For Dickon *thy Maſter is bought and ſold.*

Nay,

Nay, in the very Battel the Lord *Stanley*, who had been ſent to levy Forces for the King, comes in, and joins with the Earl: and yet notwithſtanding King *Richard* being ſlain, (and I hope to ſhew that the Caſe had been the ſame, if he had only been driven out of the Nation) and *Henry* obtaining the Crown, the Lord *Bacon* ſaith, Beſides his other two Claims, that of Heir to the Houſe of *Lancaſter* in his own Perſon, and that of Heireſs to the Houſe of *York*, with whom he meant to marry; he had alſo the Title of Conqueſt. And although he choſe not to make ſuch uſe of the Title of Conqueſt, as of that of Heir to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*; partly becauſe he came in upon Conditions and Agreements; and partly becauſe he knew that to claim as a Conqueror, was to put as well his own Party, as the reſt, in Fear, as that which gave him Power of diſannulling of Laws, and diſpoſing of Mens Fortunes and Eſtates; and the like Points of abſolute Power: yet he made uſe of it to beat down open Murmur and Diſpute. And afterwards he got the Crown to be entailed upon him by Act of Parliament, and the ſaid Act to be confirmed by the Pope's Bull the Year following, with mention nevertheleſs (by way of Recital) of his other Titles both of Deſcent and Conqueſt. So as now (ſaith the ſame learned Author) the Wreath of three was made a Wreath of five; for to the three firſt Titles of the two Houſes or Lines, and Conqueſt, were added two more, *&c.*

Reign of Hen. VII. Pag. 3, 4, 5, 6.

Pag. 11, 12.

So that *Henry* the Seventh, as wiſe a Prince as ever ſway'd the Engliſh Scepter, (of whoſe Opinion the Lord *Bacon* ſeems to be) thought he had the Title of Conqueſt, the which he might, and did make uſe of, as far as he ſaw convenient. Although he brought over with him but two thouſand Mercenaries, a ſmall Force in compariſon of thoſe that the Prince brought over with

with him, and got the Crown almoſt purely by the help of King *Richard*'s Subjects, and by the Treachery of his pretended Friends; many of which had been preferred by him, and yet forſook him.

I grant indeed that King *Richard* was an Uſurper, and a cruel Prince: But what of that? Although his being ſo was a juſt reaſon why *Henry*, who had been conveyed into *Britain* in the Reign of King *Edward* the *4th*, and never returned into *England* until that fortunate Expedition, which made him King, and conſequently who had never ſworn Allegiance to him, might agree to marry the undoubted Heireſs of the Houſe of *York*, and thereupon do his utmoſt to deprive him of his Crown; yet did it not make the Succeſs againſt him either more or leſs a Conqueſt. It made it lawful to conquer him, but it did not make the Victory ever the more a Conqueſt. And further, whatever Weight there is in that, is likewiſe in the Title of their preſent Majeſties: For as *Henry* the *7th* had a juſt Quarrel againſt *Richard* the *3d*, ſo alſo had their preſent Majeſties againſt King *James* the *2d*. Speed, Edw. 4. p. 886.

It is true, in both theſe Inſtances there is a Miſtake, under which the Lord *Bacon* himſelf ſeems to lie, in the Caſe of *Henry* the *7th*, *viz.* That the Victors are thought to have gained, not only a Title to the Crown againſt the Vanquiſhed Princes, but alſo an Abſolute Power over the Rights and Liberties of the Subject. Whereas in theſe, and all other ſuch like Caſes, where the Nation ſtands Neuter, no Man is conquered, but the King, and ſuch as aſſiſted him; and therefore no Right is gained over the Laws, or the Peoples Liberties. But of this more hereafter. At the preſent it is enough to obſerve, that theſe two Inſtances make it plain to be the Opinion of thoſe Times, that to the Right or Title of Conqueſt, it is not neceſſary that the Souldiers and Subjects

Subjects of the Prince Conquered, proved faithful to him: it is enough that he be either ſlain, or, which I hope I ſhall prove to be all one, rendred unable any longer to defend his Subjects and his Crown againſt the Victor. And is it not likewiſe the general Opinion of theſe preſent Times? Do not the Chriſtian Princes, now in a State of War with each other, endeavour each to draw Aſſiſtance from his Enemies, by Manifeſto's, Declarations, Memorials? And do not Souldiers daily deſert one Prince, whoſe natural Subjects they are, and run to another? But is that thought a Reaſon why the Victors ſhould quit any thing that their Swords do gain? If their Declarations be untrue, or in any reſpect unreaſonable, there is Sin in that, and in making any Advantage of them: but the Prince's was not; and therefore as there was no Evil in it, ſo is there no reaſon why he ſhould quit any Advantage gained by it.

Object. 2. But it may be ſaid, That the Nation was not conquered, nor was it poſſible it ſhould be, by ſuch a ſmall number of Forces, as the Prince brought over with him: And that no Right of Conqueſt could accrue to the Prince, ſo long as the King had Subjects enow able to have defended him. Had the Nation done its utmoſt in defence of the King, and yet been overpowred, the Aſſertion had been true: but it was ſo far from it, that it was the *Poiſoned Nation* K. *James* feared more than the *Foreign Army*. A great part of the Nation took againſt the King; and almoſt all the reſt looked on, while he was driven out of his Dominions. And call you this a Conqueſt?

Anſw. To this I reply: (1.) That this was much-what the Caſe in the two Inſtances I have given; and yet, as has been ſhewn, it was the Opinion of thoſe Times, that the two Princes I have mentioned were conquered.

(2.)

(2.) As to the Nation's ſtanding Neuter, or taking againſt the King, I have conſidered it already, and need not now repeat. This Objection is much-what the ſame with the former, only it appears in a different Dreſs. (3.) As to the Prince's conquering *England*, I ſay, he never pretended to it; nor could he have done it juſtly; for he had no Quarrel againſt the Nation. It was ſo far from it, that he never pretended any. His Quarrel againſt the King, was likewiſe the Nation's Complaint againſt him: and at the ſame time he aſſerted his own Right, and in that very Particular he aſſerted the Right of the Nation. For as he had a Right to be ſatisfied about the Succeſſion, ſo alſo had the Nation; and the Nation too deſired Satisfaction as well as he. Nay, he came not only to aſſert his own Right, jointly with ours, in this Particular; but even all our Rights and Liberties, which were ſtruck at, and in great danger of being utterly ſubverted. So that this Glorious Prince was ſo far from being our Enemy, that he was our Champion and Deliverer. He conquered nothing, but our Hearts. And if he never pretended to be our Enemy, he could not be ſaid to conquer us. Had he conquered the Nation, he would have had a Right to ſomewhat elſe beſides the Crown, *viz.* to our Laws, Liberties and Eſtates; and we ſhould have been in a very ill Condition, until by ſubmitting all to the Convention, and ſuffering the Government to ſettle upon the Antient Baſis, he gave us all back again. It is true, many times the Quarrel of Prince and People are twiſted together, and then they ſtand or fall together: but here they were ſevered, and therefore the King fell by himſelf: And although it be a hard Saying, yet is it too true, that his Fall was his Countrey's Riſe.

The Nation was never conquered ſince the Days of *William* the Firſt, ſuppoſing that may be called ſuch a

Conqueſt. Nor is ſuch a Conqueſt neceſſary to give the Victorious Prince a Right to the Throne of the Vanquiſhed. Enough it is that he be reduced to ſuch a Condition, as to be unable to help his Friends, and they to help him. Such a Conqueſt was that of *Henry* the 4*th* over *Richard* the 2*d*, although he thought not to have made uſe of that Title; becauſe his Quarrel was not juſt, nor his Succeſs gained without Diſſimulation and Perjury. And ſuch a Conqueſt was that of *Henry* the 7*th* over *Richard* the 3*d*. And yet both theſe, as I have ſaid, thought they had good Titles, as being Conquerors. And ſuch a Conqueſt was this of our preſent Soveraigns over King *James* the 2*d*.

Object. 3. It may be ſaid, All this would be true, were King *James* out of all poſſibility of ever helping his Friends, or of receiving Help from them. But he is only retired into a Neighbouring Kingdom: And there he is within Call, whenever the Nation's Eyes ſhall be opened. He only waits for a fair Opportunity of returning to ſuccour his Friends, and right himſelf.

Reaſons for withdrawing himſelf from Rocheſter.

To this I anſwer:

(1.) King *James* is in ſuch a Kingdom as we can expect no Good from: and if ever he returns out of it, we have reaſon to think he will ſuccour no Friends, but thoſe of his own Religion, and ſuch as are for Arbitrary Power. But as for all the reſt, which are the main Body of the Community, we have great cauſe to fear, they will be in a much worſe Condition than they are under the preſent Government. It is highly probable, that he went away with hopes, that the Diſtractions he took care to throw us into, and our own miſtaken Notions of Loyalty, with the Aſſiſtance of the French King, would in a ſhort time bring him back a Conqueror, upon the Necks of our Laws, and our Religion.

ligion. And what Encouragment can a wiſe Proteſtant find in this, to be undone by ſuſpending his Allegiance to our preſent moſt gracious Soveraigns? Shall we, for the preſent, make our ſelves miſerable, and do our utmoſt to make the Nation ſo too, in hopes that e're long he will return, and be in a Condition to make both us and it, more effectually ſo? But,

(2.) It is not eſſential to a Conqueſt, nor to the Right it gives, that the Prince, ſuppoſed to be conquered, be out of all poſſibility of ever helping his Friends, or of receiving Help from them. No Prince is in ſuch a Condition while he lives. It is ſufficient, that the main Body of a Kingdom have ſubmitted to the Conqueror; and the greateſt Part of ſuch as have been required to ſwear Allegiance to him, have done it: ſo as that he is fully poſſeſſed of the Government; and that the vanquiſhed Prince is not able to protect thoſe that refuſe to ſubmit to him: but that they may be ruined before he could come in to their Aſſiſtance; and would be ſo, were it not for the meer Mercy of the Conqueror.

For one great Reaſon, why Conqueſt, in a juſt Quarrel, gives the Subject a rightful Liberty of transferring his Allegiance to the Conqueror, is, Becauſe his former Soveraign is, by his own Fault, fallen into ſuch a Condition, as that he cannot, to him, anſwer the Ends of Government; nor he, to his Soveraign, the Ends of Allegiance and Subjection. And as it would be very hard, that a King ſhould be obliged to throw away himſelf for the ſake of his Subjects, when his doing ſo would not in the leaſt advantage them: ſo is it no leſs hard, that Subjects ſhould be obliged to throw away themſelves for the ſake of their King, when their doing of it, will not at all advantage him. For both theſe ſuppoſe Men are obliged to be undone for no Reaſon,

and to no End. Nor are we bound to be undone at the preſent, in hopes that hereafter his late Majeſty may recover his Throne. For another Reaſon, and indeed the chief, why ſuch a Conqueſt as we now ſpeak of, gives the Subject a Right to transfer his Allegiance, is, Becauſe the ejected Prince cannot be reſtored without the very great Miſery, if not the utter Ruin of his Country. But of this I ſhall ſay more in anſwer to the next Objection; to the which I now proceed.

Object. 4. It muſt not be diſſembled, that ſome are of an Opinion that it is no Conqueſt; or rather, that no Right to a Crown is acquired by Conqueſt, without either the Death, or, at the leaſt, the Ceſſion of the vanquiſhed Prince. And ſince this is a Scruple that mainly ſticks with ſome that refuſe the Oath, I will give as full an Anſwer to it as I can.

Ceſſion, is either voluntary, or forced. The former of theſe, is the ſame with voluntary Reſignation, and has no place here. For whatever Prince, being conquered, reſigns his Crown to the Conqueror, it is againſt his Will; it is not to be thought a voluntary Reſignation. The latter I think ſufficient to give the Victor a Right to a Crown, and to give the Subject a Right of transferring his Allegiance to him: but I believe a great many are of an opinion, that ſuch a Reſignation or Ceſſion, will bind the vanquiſhed Prince no longer than he is under Force or Neceſſity. For has it not been frequently ſaid, That whatever Promiſes a Prince makes for fear, when under Force, or for the gaining of his Liberty, are all void as ſoon as the Neceſſity ceaſes?

Lord Herbert's Life and Reign of Henry 8th, p. 184, to 192. Thus *Francis* the Firſt, King of *France*, being the Priſoner of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, bound himſelf by the Concord of *Madrid*, ſolemnly ſwore to; That,

That, when at liberty, he ſhould perform divers Conditions, and, amongſt the reſt, reſtore the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, notwithſtanding any Decrees of Parliaments, Pretence of the Salique Law, or other Claim whatſoever; or elſe return a Priſoner to *Charles*.

And at their parting, when he was diſmiſſed, *Charles* demanded of him, If he well remembred all that was capitulated betwixt them? *Francis* anſwered, Yes; for further Confirmation, repeating the moſt particular Articles. *Charles* then demanded, Are you willing to perform them? *Francis* anſwered again, Yes; adding, He knew no Man in his Kingdom would hinder him: And when you find I do not keep my Word with you, I wiſh and conſent, that you hold me for Laſchs and Meſchant. By this Account it is manifeſt, that *Francis* bound himſelf as faſt as a King under reſtraint could; and yet afterwards, in a Cartel ſent to *Charles*, he thought it a good Excuſe to ſay, That no Man, under Reſtraint, can plight his Faith. Pag. 192.

It is true, the ſame Hiſtorian adds, that this Anſwer was generally not approved of: but yet he alſo ſays, that if he had excuſed his not returning, by his being a Publick Perſon; and had ſaid, that his Obligation by Oath, when he was crowned unto his People and Kingdom, was a greater Tie than that of his particular Honour: And together had alledged, That he could not obtain their Conſent, either to perform his Promiſe for Reſtitution of *Burgundy*, or to go ſingle out of his Kingdom; it was thought by ſome, he might have vindicated himſelf in great part, and even laid ſome Imputation on *Charles* for demanding things impoſſible to be performed. The ſame Account, as to the Subſtance of it, is likewiſe given by the *French* Hiſtorian, although he gloſs over the matter as well as he can; and he makes much-what the ſame Excuſe for *Francis*. Pag. 204. *De Serres* p. 617.

So that ſome for one Reaſon, and ſome for another, have been of opinion, That whatever Promiſes are made, and Engagements entred into, by Kings under Force, are not binding when they are at liberty: and conſequently, if a Prince, in ſuch a Condition, ſhall reſign his Crown, he may, whenever he finds an Opportunity, reaſſert his Right; and the Subject will be bound to aſſiſt him againſt the Victor. So that the Ceſſion of the Prince conquered, will give ſome Men as little Satisfaction; as his being reduced to ſuch a Condition, as to be unable to help his Friends, gives thoſe that pretend they would be ſatisfied with ſuch a Ceſſion.

As to thoſe that would be ſatisfied with the Death of the conquered Prince, although he ſhould not reſign his Crown, but will be ſatisfi'd with no leſs; the neceſſary Conſequence of their Opinion, is, That one Prince muſt never take another Priſoner, nor give him leave to eſcape, if he aims at his Crown: becauſe, while he is alive, he can have no Aſſurance of the Subjects Loyalty. And ſuch Proteſtants as are of this Opinion, muſt ſay, That had K. *William* diſpatched K. *James* when he was in his Power, he had likewiſe diſpatched all their Scruples; nay, and they will be tempted to wiſh he had done ſo. How kindly K. *James* will take it, I know not; But I am perſwaded, if it ever is in his Power, he will reward them for it, partly after the ſame rate, as for their other Services.

Having thus ſhewn my Reader ſome Inconveniences, that ſeem to attend or follow from the Opinion that the Objection ſuppoſes to be true, I now proceed to a direct Anſwer.

K. *James* is ſtill alive, and has not reſigned his Kingdoms, but has eſcaped out of the Victor's Hands; who, as ſoon as he was poſſeſſed of his Dominions, required an Oath of Allegiance of the Subjects; who have generally

rally ſubmitted, and accordingly ſworn Allegiance. K. *James*, in the mean time, is in ſuch a Condition, and has been ever ſince his Flight, that he is not able to protect thoſe that refuſe the Oath; but their Lives and Safety are owing purely to the Mercy of the preſent Government. The Queſtion is, Whether may thoſe that have hitherto refuſed the Oath, now ſuppoſe both their late King and themſelves to be, as to all the Ends of Government, in the State of Conqueſt, and ſo take the ſaid Oath, and pay Allegiance to K. *William* and Q. *Mary*? Or, on the contrary, are they ſtill to believe it no Conqueſt, and conſequently to adhere to K. *James*?

Now when I ſay, K. *William* and Q. *Mary* conquered K. *James*, I do not mean nicely to conſider the Meaning of the words, *Conquered* and *Conqueſt*: Nor to determine whether or no, a Man may properly be ſaid to be conquered, who, although he be fled away, yet lies at all Advantages, ſeeking for Opportunities of fighting with thoſe that have brought him to this Neceſſity? Theſe are Niceties not neceſſary to be diſcuſſed at this time. All I mean by it, is, That their Preſent Majeſties have, on their ſide, the great Reaſon that makes Conqueſt a good Title, and without which, it would not be a good Title. And if this appear to be true, certainly it is, in all reaſon, ſufficient for any Man's Satisfaction.

Now how ſhall we decide the Doubt? Shall we have recourſe to the Holy Scripture? Both the Old and New Teſtament ſeem all along in favour of a King in Poſſeſſion, without diſtinguiſhing, nicely, how he came by it. But ſince they do not ſpeak deſignedly to the Point; ſince they do not ſhew us in expreſs words, when a Conqueſt is compleat, and when the Right that it gives, is gained; and ſince, what I think has been ſolidly enough urged from their Teſtimony by others, has not given

given Satisfaction, I am content to decline their Evidence at this time. What then? Shall we have recourſe to the Laws of our Country? they likewiſe ſeem to ſpeak no leſs clearly than the Holy Scriptures, in favour of the King *de facto*, without conſidering how he came to be ſo. But what may be ſaid from them, belongs to another Argument that has been very well managed by ſome others, and therefore I will not meddle with it.

It remains therefore, that we have recourſe to the Law of Reaſon, and by it determine the Matter in queſtion. And this will ſoon direct us to conſider the End of Government, as the beſt Mark to walk by in this Piece of doubtful Way. That Opinion muſt be true, that accords with the Reaſon and End of Government; and not that which overthrows it. It is beyond diſpute, that Government is for ſome End; and if ſo, then muſt we not eſpouſe any Opinions, about it, that tend to overthrow or defeat that End. Nor can we owe a Deference to any one particular Governor, much leſs, againſt the Reaſon and End of Government.

Now then, for what End was Government inſtituted? It muſt be for a wiſe and a gracious End, if God be the Author of it; as, I ſuppoſe, they that refuſe the Oath, believe he was. Was it then that God hath ſuch a particular Kindneſs for the comparatively very few Regal Families, that are in the World; or rather to the very few particular Men that are Kings, that he is reſolved to maintain their Greatneſs, although at the expence of all other Mens Lives and Fortunes, that are their Subjects? Is this an End becoming infinite Wiſdom and Goodneſs? to make the Welfare and Happineſs of Millions ſubſervient to, and at every Turn give way to the Greatneſs of one Man? Certainly no Man will ſay this. This is the End that Tyrants aim at; but it was never intended by him that made and governs the World.

What

What then? Is the Good of the Community, the principal End of Government? I hope that no Man in his Wits will deny it. I know a great many have, from this being granted, deduced ſome dangerous Conſequences, that indeed did not follow: But what of all that? We muſt not give up a ſound Principle, becauſe ſome Men have argued unſoundly from it.

Now then, which of theſe two Opinions, being believed and practiſed, doth moſt correſpond with the Reaſon and End of Government? That the Subject be at liberty to transfer his Allegiance to the Conqueror, as ſoon as his own Prince is diſpoſſeſſed of his Dominions, and in no Condition any longer to give Protection, and cannot be re-inthroned without the unſpeakable Miſeries of War, and the many dreadful unforeſeen Conſequences of it? Or, that he look upon himſelf to be obliged to adhere to his former Soveraign, ſo long as ever he is alive, and refuſeth to reſign his Crown; and that, for his ſake, he not only ought to adventure his own Life and Fortune, but alſo to diſturb his Country's Peace and Settlement, under their new Soveraign, whenever there is an Opportunity?

Certainly there wants nothing but a Mind free from Prejudices, and a very ſmall ſhare of Reaſon, to anſwer this Queſtion aright. Did I believe, that the End for which the great and gracious Governour of the World inſtituted Civil Polities, was the Grandeur of Kings; and particularly, that the chief End he aimed at in making *James* the Second King of theſe Iſlands, was his ſingle Greatneſs; then ſhould I think that the Right that Conqueſt gives were not gained, until he himſelf had given up his Pretenſions intentionally: but ſince it is as clear, as that it is Day when the Sun ſhines, that, in general, the End of all Government, and particularly of the Engliſh Government, is the Good of the

Community; I cannot but think, that our preſent Soveraigns had the Right, that Conqueſt gives, againſt him; and that my Allegiance to him was at an end as ſoon as he was diſpoſſeſſed, and they had aſcended the Throne.

Nor can I believe that his ſingle Intereſt is of ſuch moment, as that, out of ſome hopes of promoting it, I may hazard my own Life and Fortune, and act againſt the viſible great Good of my Country, now ſetled under other Princes; eſpecially when I add this further Conſideration, that *They* do, with all their Might, promote the Ends of Government, which he did not do while he wore the Crown; nor would do, as I have all the Reaſon in the World to believe, were he again poſſeſſed of it.

In ſhort; It is Loyalty enough to adhere to a Man's Prince, ſo long as he defends his Subjects, his Crown and Dignity: but when he ceaſes to do that, and the Nation is ſetled under others, I am obliged not to hazard my own Intereſts, and much more not to do what in me lies, to caſt the State, new ſetled, into miſerable Convulſions, by refuſing the Oath, or by joining in a Conſpiracy againſt that Settlement. And if Conqueſt, conſequent to a juſt Quarrel, be a good Title, and juſtify the Subject in transferring his Allegiance; then muſt that be, when the conquered Prince is no longer able to maintain his own *Regalia*, and protect his Subjects; but ſo far from it, as to be forced to deſert them, although he be yet alive, and refuſeth to reſign. He that denieth this, makes Allegiance to Governours hold in oppoſition to the End of Government; and doth in effect ſay, that Government was ordained for the ſake of Governours, and not for the ſake of Societies.

Where-

Wherefore I conclude, that Conqueſt is then compleat, and the Right that it gives, gained; when a King is forced to leave his Dominions defenceleſs, eſpecially if thereupon the People generally ſubmit to the Conqueror, and that by a National Act: Becauſe he is now no more able to protect thoſe that adhere to him. And his being owned as King any longer, is become inconſiſtent with the Ends of Government; and all Indeavors to reſtore him tend directly to overthrow them. And ſo much for the ſecond thing to be proved, *Their Majeſties King* William *and Queen* Mary *conquered King* James.

SECT. III.

Conqueſt is in this their Majeſties Caſe a good Title.

IT remains that I ſay ſomething to the third General; Conqueſt is in this their Majeſties Caſe a good Title. And here I need not be tedious: For it being proved that their Majeſties had a juſt Quarrel againſt K. *James*, and that the Succeſs they have had againſt him, amounts, as to Matter of Right, to a Conqueſt over him; it muſt follow, that they have acquired as great a Right againſt him, as ever any Conquerors againſt ſuch as they have vanquiſhed; and that is to all they can get the poſſeſſion of.

In many Caſes Conqueſt will juſtify the Subjects in transferring their Allegiance to the Victor, when he had not a juſt Quarrel againſt the Vanquiſhed; although in ſuch a Caſe the Victor ſins in accepting of it. But now in the Caſe of a juſt Quarrel, both the Conqueror and the Subjects are juſtified; the latter in transferring their Allegiance, and the former in accepting.

And the Reaſon is plain: When a Prince refuſes to give Satisfaction to an injured Neighbouring Prince, he puts the Matter to the Deciſion of the Sword. For Princes have not, like Subjects, Courts of Law to implead each other in, where the Injured may try their Cauſe, and recover their Right. Their Sword is their only Remedy; nor can they have any other Redreſs than it gives. And he that has once injured his Neighbour, gives him to underſtand how he will uſe him, if he overcomes him; that he will follow his Fortune, and extort from him all he can. And therefore if he himſelf is overcome, the ſame Meaſure may juſtly be meeted out to him.

Nor muſt it be ſaid, that the Conqueror in ſuch a Caſe gains a Right, only to what he demanded before the War, for that was his Due before the Hazard and Expence of it: and he is not only to be ſatisfied for that firſt Injury, but alſo for the Hazard his Enemy has unjuſtly made him run, and the Expence he hath put him to; and he has Reaſon to be very well paid for both. Nay, as his Enemy hath unjuſtly made him run the Hazard of his own Life: ſo has it always been underſtood, that if afterwards he comes into his Hands, he forfeits his Life in lieu of it. And if ſo, then if he eſcapes, either with or without his Leave, yet muſt the Victor have a Right to all of his that he can get poſſeſſion of.

De Jure Belli & Pacis, lib. 3. cap. 15. Sect. 3, 2.

I grant what *Grotius* ſaith, that in many Caſes a Prince ſhould be ſo merciful, as not to make uſe of his Victory with Rigour; but to accept of moderate Satisfaction; and to take from the Vanquiſhed nothing but the Power of Injuring, as he cites it out of *Criſpus Salluſtius*. But what if the Vanquiſhed will rather give up, or deſert all, than be abridged of that Power? Was it not ſo in the Caſe we are ſpeaking of? And what

ſhall

ſhall the Victor do in ſuch a Caſe? Certainly he ſhould rather take all, than leave the Vanquiſhed ſtill the Power of injuring. For I aſſert, what *Grotius* alſo grants, that the Right I plead for is acquired, and may be made uſe of, *Quatenus fert aut pœnæ naſcentis ex delicto, aut alterius debiti modus*: and that in uſing of a Victory all Circumſtances are to be conſidered. Ibid. Sect. 1.

It is one thing to ſay a Man hath, or hath not a Right; and another to ſay, Humanity or Chriſtianity obliges him either to make uſe of it, or not to make uſe of it. A Man has a Right to every Penny of his Eſtate; and if he will not give any thing to a poor Man, he doth not injure him. But yet may he be obliged upon the Score of Humanity, or of Chriſtianity, to give largely. And yet ſome Circumſtances may free him from the Obligation of giving to that particular Man, by laying greater upon him, as in caſe his Father, or other near Relation be fallen into ſuch a Condition, as to want every Penny that he can ſpare: Or if that be the very Condition of his King, or of his Country. In ſuch a Caſe he is excuſed from giving to that poor Man, although in Want.

So here, a Conqueror gains, as I have ſaid, a Right to all of the Conquered that he gets poſſeſſion of: but yet it is a Point of Humanity, and, which is more, of Chriſtianity, not to make uſe of his Fortune rigorouſly in ordinary Caſes, but ſtill there may be Circumſtances that free him from theſe Obligations; yea, and that do ſo alter the Caſe, that it becomes a Point both of Humanity and Chriſtianity to do it. And that muſt be, if ever, when the Publick Good requires it, when to leave the Vanquiſhed the Poſſeſſion of his Dominions would be to their apparent great Hurt; and much more when it would alſo be to the Detriment of a conſiderable part of the World, and to the Intereſt of the true Religion.

It

In ſuch a Caſe the Conqueror not only may, but ought to ſtand upon his rigorous Right againſt the Conquered; yea although he be obliged to him in the ſtricteſt Bonds of Nature; to ſpeak plainly, although the Vanquiſhed be the Victor's Father. For whatever Women or Children may think, I hope no wiſe Man will ſay that a Man's Obligations to his Father are ſuch, as that for his ſingle Intereſt, he ought to do an Act highly prejudicial in its Conſequences to the Good of a Kingdom, to the Civil Rights and Liberties of *Europe*, and, which ought to weigh moſt, to the Intereſt of the true Religion.

It is true, I may not, for all theſe put together, do an Act, in point of ſtrict Right, injurious to my Father, or to any Man elſe: For I may not do Evil that Good may come of it. But I may go as far for the ſake of theſe, as ſtrict Right will allow of; and ought not to ſhew Favour or Kindneſs to any particular Man, no not to my Father, when the doing of it would be Cruelty to ſo many Millions. Natural Affection is an indiſpenſable Duty, and is owing in an eſpecial manner to a Father: but it muſt not be indulged in this Inſtance; for that would be againſt Reaſon, that is, againſt Nature. I add, that to eaſe a Man of the Cares that attend a Crown, and reduce him to a private Life; when at the ſame time, you take from him the Power of oppreſſing, and the Temptation to it, is no ſuch great Harm to a Man, if he has but Philoſophy enough to conquer his own Temper.

Object. But ſome may ſay, We grant the Prince and Princeſs had a juſt Quarrel againſt King *James*, and conquered him. And we alſo grant that Conqueſt would have been in this Caſe a good Title, had it been ſtood upon. But they have loſt that Right for want of claiming, and by

by leaving the Matter to the Determination of the Convention. They did not, as they ſhould have done, aſcend the Throne as Conquerors, but ſuffered themſelves to be elected, and made Soveraigns by the People. So that they have now no Right of Conqueſt, becauſe they have receded from it.

Anſw. 1. Although they ſhould not formally inſiſt upon that Title with the Subject, yet it is not therefore deſtroyed. When a Prince gains a Crown by Conqueſt, and has other concurring Titles that I like not, I think I may ſwear to him as a Conqueror, although he do not require me to ſwear on that Ground. And it is ſufficient to juſtify my doing of it, that I know my former Soveraign is unable to protect me, and I to defend my ſelf in my Refuſal; and that he cannot be reſtored without great Detriment to my Country. For, as has been ſaid, the principal Reaſon that makes the Title of Conqueſt good, is the ſame with the great End of Government, *viz.* The Good and Safety of the Community, and conſequently my own Good and Safety; and not that it is claimed, or not claimed by the Victor.

2. I have already ſaid, that King *William* conquered King *James*, but not the Nation; and therefore he acquired a Title to all the Rights of King *James*, but not to any of the Rights of the Nation. Now K. *James* had a Right to govern theſe Nations, until by being conquered he loſt it: that Right K. *William* never gave him back again, but inſiſted upon his Right and Conqueſt againſt him, as appears by what I have already ſaid of his treating him like a Priſoner; and (I now add what is very material) his referring it to the Convention to ſettle the Government. This he could not do, but upon a Suppoſition that he had loſt his Right to it. Had he not claimed againſt him as Conqueror, he muſt have left him in poſſeſſion of his Dominions.

And

And this being ſo, ſince he did not re-inſtate him, he did not give him back his Right. But then the Nation had alſo a Right to their King. And ſince King *William*, as I have ſaid, did not conquer the Nation, nor ever had any Quarrel againſt it, he did not acquire a Title to any of the Rights of the Nation, nor particularly to that of being governed by K. *James*.

Wherefore he did what became a juſt Prince in leaving it to the Nation's Repreſentatives, whether they would be any longer governed by him or no. And they having given up their Right to him, and conſented to accept our preſent Soveraigns; and that their Act being owned by the major Part of the People, they have an undoubed Right to the Crown; and conſequently to the Allegiance of the Subject; a Right of Conqueſt againſt King *James*; and a Right over the Nation by her own Conſent, which ſhe cannot now recal. And whether a Man be of an Opinion, that the Convention did well or ill in conſenting, yet may he honeſtly enough ſwear to King *William* and Queen *Mary*; becauſe their Title of Conqueſt againſt K. *James* ſtill remains ſo far from being overthrown, that it is rather eſtabliſhed by that Act of the Convention. However,

3. Their Majeſties, by referring the Matter to the Convention, and making uſe of their Concurrence, have no more prejudiced their Title of Conqueſt, than Princes do by making uſe of ſuch as they can draw to their Party, of their Enemies Souldiers or Subjects, to drive them either out of the whole, or any part of their Dominions.

Object. But the Convention did ill in giving up their Right to their King, and the Nation did ill in owning that their Act: and therefore we are bound to make all the Recompence we can, for what has been amiſs, by denying

nying Allegiance to the preſent Powers, and doing all we can to re-inthrone our former Soveraign.

1. I much queſtion whether or no the Concluſion follow from the Premiſes. Suppoſing the Convention did ill in giving up their Right to the King, and the Nation in owning that their Act, I very much doubt whether it follows from thence, that therefore we ought to deny Allegiance to King *W.* and Queen *M.* and to do all we can to reſtore K. *James.* For ought I know, as things now ſtand, we may very well deny that Conſequence. This is certain, that many things that are ill done, muſt not afterwards be undone. But, *Anſw.*

2. I deny that either the Convention or the Nation have in this done ill. They gave up no body's Right but their own: K. *James*'s was loſt to the Conqueror. And certainly the Nation might, if ſhe pleaſed, recede from her own Right; eſpecially he having firſt abdicated, and conſequently given up his Right to her.

But we have all done ill in ſitting ſtill, and ſuffering a Foreign Prince to expel our Soveraign; and therefore upon that Account we owe him a Recompence, and it ſhould not be leſs than the reſtoring of him. *Object.*

1. The King had with him an Army ſufficient to have expelled the Prince and his Forces; an Army in which he confided, without ſummoning other private Perſons to come under his Standard, or to arm on his Behalf. And if ſome of them forſook him, and he durſt not adventure to head the reſt againſt his Enemy, what was that to the main Body of the Nation, or to ſuch as now refuſe the Oath? But, *Anſw.*

2. It is not true, that as things then ſtood, we were bound to fight for the King. Subjects are not obliged to defend their King, his Crown and Dignity, when he makes it impoſſible for them to do it, without appa-

rent Ruine to the Nation. If we had at that time enabled the King to drive the Prince of *Orange* out of the Nation, we muſt have accepted of the Child as a genuine Prince of *W.* without ever inquiring into his Birth; and have bid good-Night to all our Rights, both Civil and Religious. And this being the Caſe; if we might not aſſiſt the Prince, however we had no Reaſon to aſſiſt the King: ſo that in ſitting ſtill, we have done no Wrong; and therefore have no Satisfaction to make.

Nor doth any thing that I have ſaid juſtify *Cromwel* and his Uſurpation, or any of the illegal Powers that were about that time ſet up. For as to *Cromwel*, (and what I ſay againſt him will equally affect thoſe other Uſurpations):

1. He was a Subject, and therefore ought not, for any Provocation then given, to have rebelled againſt his Soveraign, much leſs to have held on the War, when the Parliament had voted his Conceſſions ſatisfactory. They muſt be extraordinary Circumſtances that will juſtify a Subject's fighting againſt his Prince. It is certain, no illegal Adminiſtrations that are tolerable will: Becauſe the Miſchiefs of Civil War are ſo great, that they are not to be out-ballanced with ſuch. I think however leſs will not do it, than that it is manifeſt that the Prince indeavours to overthrow the great End of Government; and that without being reſiſted, he will in all humane Probability effect his Purpoſe. I do not ſay this will do it; for I meddle not with the Argument; but I think however leſs than this will not do it. And there was nothing of this to juſtify the Doings of that wicked Traitor. And therefore,

2. He ought not to have made uſe of his Succeſs againſt that beſt of Men, who was always a very tolerable Prince, and whom Experience had taught to amend

mend ſuch Errors, as had been committed in the beginning of his Reign, even before the War brake out, as appears by his many gracious Conceſſions at that time; and eſpecially, to name no more, by his paſſing the Bill for the Continuance of the Parliament, not to be Prorogued or Adjourned, but by Act of Parliament.

3. If he would make any uſe of his Succeſs, it ſhould have been to the Good of the Nation, as ſettled under her lawful Prince. But what had he and his Creatures to do, to diſſolve the Government? eſpecially to uſurp the Supreme Power himſelf; ſince he got it not either by the Conſent of the King, or of the Nation; both which had been in his Caſe neceſſary? A great deal more might be ſaid, to ſhew the Diſparity between that and our preſent Settlement: but I refer the Reader to Dr. *Sherlock*'s Caſe of Allegiance due to Sovereign Powers; where he will find the Prejudices raiſed from the Rump Parliament, the Protector, and the Committee of Safety, removed. P. 45 to 48.

Nor doth my aſſerting their Majeſties Right acquired by Conqueſt, at all thwart the Determination of the Convention, *viz. That the late King* James *Abdicated the Government, and left the Throne Vacant.* For that the late King was Conquered, and that he Abdicated the Government, are not inconſiſtent.

It was by his own fault that he fell into ſuch a Condition, as that he thought it unſafe to ſtay in *England*; yea, and even to the laſt, if he would have conſented that the Ends of the Prince's Declaration might have been gained, he needed not to have left us. And ſince he rather choſe to go away, than to do Right, either to Us or the Prince; and did ſo, without deputing a Vice-Roy; what was this but to Abdicate us? For certainly if a Prince rather chooſeth to deſert his People,

than to do what is juſt and reaſonable, when that and no more is made the Condition of his continuing with them, he may be truly ſaid to throw up the Government, and to leave them to ſhift for themſelves. But of this enough. That Vote of the Convention, and the Methods of ſettling the Government thereupon taken, have been juſtified by other Pens; and the doing of it is not now my Province.

But then ſince it was the Succeſs of the Prince's Arms that made him go away; or rather, ſince he would not have gone away, had it not been for that Succeſs, it might be a Conqueſt too: and I think I have proved it to have been ſo, in the Senſe I have explained my ſelf; that is, it had attending it the principal Reaſons that make Conqueſt a good Title; and that is enough for our Satisfaction.

SECT. IV.

Concluding with ſome neceſſary Conſequences of the three foregoing Propoſitions.

I Muſt now draw towards a Concluſion. I hope I have proved my three Propoſitions. (1.) That King *William* and Queen *Mary* had a juſt Quarrel againſt King *James*. (2.) That they conquered him. And, (3.) That Conqueſt is in this caſe a good Title. I am ſure I have offered nothing, but what I thought to be Reaſon: Nor have I baulk'd any Objection, becauſe it was too hard to be anſwered. I will conclude with ſome Inferences from what I have written. And,

1. It

1. It follows, That our moſt gracious Soveraigns King *William* and Queen *Mary*, in order to gain theſe Kingdoms, and in aſcending the Throne, have done nothing but what is conſiſtent with Juſtice and Honour. For if they had a juſt Cauſe of War with King *James*, and have conquered him, in the Senſe I have ſaid, and Conqueſt be in this Caſe a good Title, and it were abſolutely neceſſary, not only for the Intereſt of theſe Kingdoms, but alſo for that of *Europe*, and the Proteſtant Religion, that they ſhould make uſe of their Succeſs; then have they in ſo doing, acted nothing but what became them.

And the aſſerting of this, ſince it is true, is a neceſſary piece of Gratitude to our glorious Deliverers. And I the rather do it, becauſe I obſerve that many of the Tracts that have been written on the behalf of the Oath of Allegiance, are rather in defence of the Subjects Submiſſion, and taking of it, than of their Majeſties Title. So that the Authors ſeem rather concerned for their own, than their Majeſties Vindication: and however glad they are of the unexpected Deliverance that hath been wrought for them, yet are they over-regardleſs of the Honour of thoſe bleſſed Princes, who have been, in God's Hands, the Inſtruments of it.

2. The Subject is juſtified in ſwearing, and paying Allegiance to them, and that as to Princes *de jure*. For they have on their ſide all the Right of Conqueſt conſequent to a juſt War, and at a time when it was abſolutely neceſſary to inſiſt upon it.

3. Thoſe that refuſe to ſwear Allegiance to their Majeſties, thereby doing what in them lies to weaken their Hands, and ſo to hinder their good Purpoſes, are guilty

ty of a very great Sin. And I the rather ſay this, becauſe I am apt to think a great many honeſt Men, who are not very confident of the Unlawfulneſs of the Oath, do judg it however beſt to refuſe it, becauſe they believe they cannot ſin in ſo doing, but may in taking it. Whereas, whoever well conſiders our preſent Circumſtances, and the Matters depending, muſt grant, that if it be lawful to ſwear, not-ſwearing is a Sin attended with much more dangerous Conſequences than is Swearing, ſuppoſing it to be unlawful. And a Man's erring in the Negative, has greater Aggravations, than in the Affirmative.

4. That King *James* hath totally loſt his Right to theſe Kingdoms: and therefore, if he comes again with an Army, he is to be looked upon by the Subjects with no other Eyes than any other Invader, but is to be reſiſted by them. Our Fleets and Armies, without any ſcruple of Conſcience to weaken their Hands, may and ought to fight as becomes valiant Men, in the defence of their preſent Soveraigns, and their Countrey; and that not only againſt the French King, but likewiſe againſt the late King *James*, if he ſhould come along with a Fleet, or head an Army againſt us.

5. No Man need trouble himſelf with any Scruple, as touching any Right of the Prince of *Wales*, ſuppoſing him to be Genuine, or of whatever other Iſſue the late King may, ſince his Birth, have had, or may hereafter have. For as to the pretended Prince, his Birth being doubtful, his Father declined the Arbitrement of a Parliament, and put it to the Deciſion of the Sword, and the Sword hath determined againſt him; and therefore, if he hath any Wrong done him, he hath no body to blame but his Father.

And

And here I cannot but take notice of the Folly of ſome People, who after King *James* was conquered and gone, expected the Parliament ſhould have examined the Birth of the Child; as if when Princes fall out, and the Injurer is utterly vanquiſhed, the injured Victor is ſtill obliged to accept of the ſame Satisfaction that would have contented him before he drew his Sword: Or as if, when a Doubt about the Succeſſion is by two Princes put to the Deciſion of the Sword, and the Sword hath decided it in favour of him, whom the far-greater Part of the Nation did, at that time, for good reaſon, believe to be injured; he ought ſtill to leave it to an Arbitration, as if it were not already decided. And if an Arbitration ever was in any caſe unreaſonably expected after a Deciſion, it is ſo in this. For when King *James* fled, he took along with him all that were able to have given poſitive Evidence, all that had been Intriguers, ſuppoſing a Trick; and all that, by anſwering of croſs Queſtions, might unawares have diſcovered the Truth.

2. In bar of the Right of the Prince of *Wales*, ſuppoſing him to be Genuine, or of whatever other Iſſue King *James* may have had ſince, or may have at any time hereafter, I have this further to offer. The Title of Conqueſt is good againſt the conquered Prince, and his Heirs born after the Conqueſt: So that in an Hereditary Monarchy, as he loſes the Crown; ſo do his Poſterity loſe all Right of Succeſſion. For certainly we muſt not ſay, the Conqueror may hold the Government during the Life of the Diſpoſſeſſed, but is bound at his Death to ſurrender it to his Heir. The Miſchiefs and Abſurdities that follow ſuch an Opinion, every Man ſees ſo plainly, that they need not now be particularly mentioned. Let it ſuffice at the preſent to ſay, that the Good of the Community, which is the End of Go-

Government, and the chief Reaſon that makes Conqueſt a good Title againſt the Conquered Prince, makes it likewiſe hold againſt his whole after-Line. For the Inthroning of any of the whole Line, is as difficult, and as full of Hazard and Detriment to the Publick, as the Re-inthroning of the Conquered Prince; and therefore the former ought no more to be attempted than the latter.

Nor doth this that I have ſaid at all prejudice the Right of the Princeſs *Ann* of *Denmark* and her Heirs. To clear this,

1. It is to be remembred that I have already ſaid, our preſent Soveraigns conquered King *James*, but not the Nation; and therefore they acquired a Title to all the Rights of King *James*, but not to any one of the Rights of the Nation. Now King *James* before this Conqueſt had a Right that his Children ſhould ſucceed: Had he not been conquered, to have put any of them by the Succeſſion, when legally it ſhould have come to their Turn, would have been an Injury to him; and to them, as having his Right deſcend upon them. But by his being conquered, that Right is loſt; and to put any of them by, is no Injury to him, nor to them, by virtue of any Right derived from him, conſidered ſolely by himſelf. But then the Nation alſo hath a Right that his Children ſucceed as aforeſaid; and ſince the Nation was not conquered, it hath not loſt that Right.

'Tis true, the Prince of *Wales*, ſuppoſing him to be Genuine, and whatever other Iſſue King *James* may ſince have had, or may hereafter have, is uncapable of the Succeſſion; becauſe whatever Right comes to them, as deſcended from him, is loſt by his being conquered; and the Nation by Act of Parliament hath given away or annulled her Right to have them ſucceed. But as I have ſaid, the Right of the Princeſs of *Denmark* and her Heirs,

Heirs, which was before the Conqueſt, is ſecured.

And not only for this Reaſon; but,

2. Becauſe their Majeſties, the Victors, having given their Conſent to the Act of Settlement, have thereby eſtabliſhed it.

If it be ſaid, Suppoſing this to be true, King and Parliament may at any time alter the Succeſſion by a Bill of Excluſion of the next Heir; Whether they may or no, I do not take upon me to determine; however, it doth not follow from what I have written, that they may ever do it, but when it is manifeſtly as neceſſary to the End of Government, *viz.* the Good of the Community, as it is that the Heirs of the Conquered Prince do loſe their Right of Succeſſion.

6. It follows from what I have written, that no Imputation of Diſloyalty can juſtly be laid on the Church of *England*: Nor are the main Body of her Clergy, who have ſworn Allegiance to their preſent Majeſties, to be cenſured for ſo doing. They have done no more than what the Principles of Government, when rightly underſtood, do juſtify: nor have they in ſo doing, renounced any one Doctrine taught either by the holy Scriptures, or by our Church.

So that God, whoſe own Right Hand at the firſt planted this Church, and hath ever ſince watered her, and been as a Hedg about her, hath not only continued to defend her at this dangerous Criſis; but hath done it after ſuch a way, as leaves no Stain upon her. And I hope this Effort of his Power, and Goodneſs, and Wiſdom, is an Argument that he intends ſtill to preſerve her, notwithſtanding the Malice of her Enemies, and the Weakneſs of ſome of her Friends, who have at this time unhappily joined Hands with them, and act againſt her Intereſt, altho without any ſuch Deſign.

When in the late Reign I considered the restless Malice of her Enemies, the bold Steps that had been already taken, and that were daily taking, to her Ruine; that no Petitions on her behalf would be heard, no not so much as pardoned; that nothing but Force was left to save her; and that any Resistance to Sovereign Authority, offered by her Members, would in the Judgment of many rob her of that bright Character of Loyalty, which her very Enemies had not hitherto had Forehead enough to deny her: It was a very melancholick Thought.

But when I further considered, that her Members were so fully perswaded of the Unlawfulness of resisting, that it was not to be expected from them; however, not such a vigorous united Force, as would have effected her Deliverance; and that any lesser Force would have helped forward her Ruin: I say, when I considered these things, I greatly feared that was the time when God resolved to visit her in Anger, and to reckon with us for our walking so unworthy of the most holy Faith professed by her, and for our horrible Abuse of all our other Mercies.

But he is pleased not only to consult the Safety, but the Honour and Reputation of our Church: He hitherto spares us for the sake of those holy Souls that pray for the Peace of our *Jerusalem*, and (as it seems to me) that he may give this unbelieving Age another Argument of his Being, of his Providence, and of his Care of the Protestant Religion; that is, of True Christianity. And therefore, such as make the late, little less than miraculous, Revolution an Argument against these, go a great way towards the filling up the measure of their Iniquity. I hope Authority will be so careful to restrain them, that their horrid Impiety shall not be charged upon the Nation.

And

And now I ſhall leave what I have written to the Reader's ſober Thoughts, repeating my Requeſt, That he would conſider maturely, and judg impartially. I know ſome will be apt to ſay, There is no occaſion for ſo much Caution to Proteſtants, whoſe Intereſt may be ſuppos'd to be a Byaſs on the Side I write for, and not againſt it. But to ſuch I obſerve, That a fancied Reputation of extraordinary Loyalty; Scorn to change an Opinion that a Man has pleaded for, ſuffer'd for, and perhaps written for; having eſpouſed a Party, and been conſiderable on that account, and imbittered againſt the contrary ſide. Theſe, and ſome other Circumſtances, do many times, with ſome Tempers, outballance even Intereſt it ſelf, and turn the Scale of Mens Judgments againſt it. And of this I am ſo fully perſwaded, that I cannot but fear worſe Effects from theſe, and ſuch like Prejudices, than from any thing that can be objected againſt what I have ſaid.

The God of Light and Love open our Underſtandings, govern our Wills, cool our Heats, and temper all our Affections; ſo as we may ſee and embrace *the things that belong unto our Peace, before they be hid from our Eyes.*

F I N I S.